

Fresh Perspectives on Events of the Day Abroad

The Ukraine Is Europe's No-man's Land

THERE is to-day in the east of Europe a No Man's Land as big as France, Italy and England put together. Perhaps it is not altogether accurate to call it No Man's Land, since it is inhabited by a population of 30,000,000—over one-fourth that of the United States. Nevertheless, politically its status is not much more clearly defined than that of the strip between two enemy trenches somewhere in the Argonne.

This No Man's Land is the Ukraine, also called Southern or Little Russia; also called the Granary of Europe. One of the richest territories in the world, destined to play a rôle of foremost importance in a reorganized Europe, to-day the Ukraine has no government, no law, no central authority.

We say the Ukraine has no government. To be more precise it has five or six governments, which, however, amounts to the same thing. The so-called Directory, which is about the nearest approach to a legally constituted executive authority, has no permanent seat. Two of its heads, Hrushevsky and Vinnichenko, are exiled, the latter in Vienna at present; the third leader, General Petlura, is encamped with his peasant army somewhere in Volhynia. There is a Bolshevik government at Khar'kov, another at Odessa. Kiev, the Ukrainian capital, is, for the time being, ruled by one Zeleny, an adventurer who, after serving his time in Rakovsky's Red Guard and in Petlura's nationalist army, went into business on his own account and organized some sort of legion whose machine guns constitute the legal background for his régime.

Parts of the country (Cholm and Eastern Galicia) are held by the Poles; in Bessarabia there are Rumanian troops, and in the east the Cossacks of General Denikine, head of the anti-Bolshevik government of Yekaterinodar, help keep things lively. Until lately there were French and Greek contingents in the Ukraine; these, however, have been withdrawn.

And out of this maze of conflicting passions and interests, of racial, religious and class animosities, this veritable "bellum omnium contra omnes," one thing stands out as certain: that there will be no peace in Europe until the problem of the Ukraine is satisfactorily settled. The Ukraine, mind you, is not a small nation; it is one of the largest in Europe and its area is second in size only to that of Great Russia.

Before an explanation of the present situation in the Ukraine can be attempted it is necessary to give a brief historical sketch of the country and the people. There is probably no nation within the boundaries of civilization of which so little is known, comparatively speaking.

Only a year ago it was possible for Mr. George Creel to say, in his capacity as head of the Committee on Public Information, that he thought the Ukraine was a musical

instrument. The main reason back of this general ignorance is that for the larger part of the last five centuries or so the Ukraine has not been an independent, organized state. Originally the cradle and centre of Russian civilization and Russian power, it was subsequently conquered and subjugated, in parts or as a whole, by Lithuanians, Mongols, Turks and Poles, until in the middle of the seventeenth century it passed under Russian, or, as the Ukrainians prefer to say, Muscovite sovereignty.

Owing to the wars and foreign conquests, the Ukraine did not possess any upper class for many centuries. The landed aristocracy, or that portion of it which survived the ravages of Mongol and Turk, was fully Polonized first, Russianized later. There was a sort of military middle class, a caste of hereditary warriors, the Cossacks, who in times of peace were small freehold proprietors; they formed the kernel of the free Ukrainian republic in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But the mass of the population was composed of serfs, crushed under the iron heel of Polish or Polonized landlords.

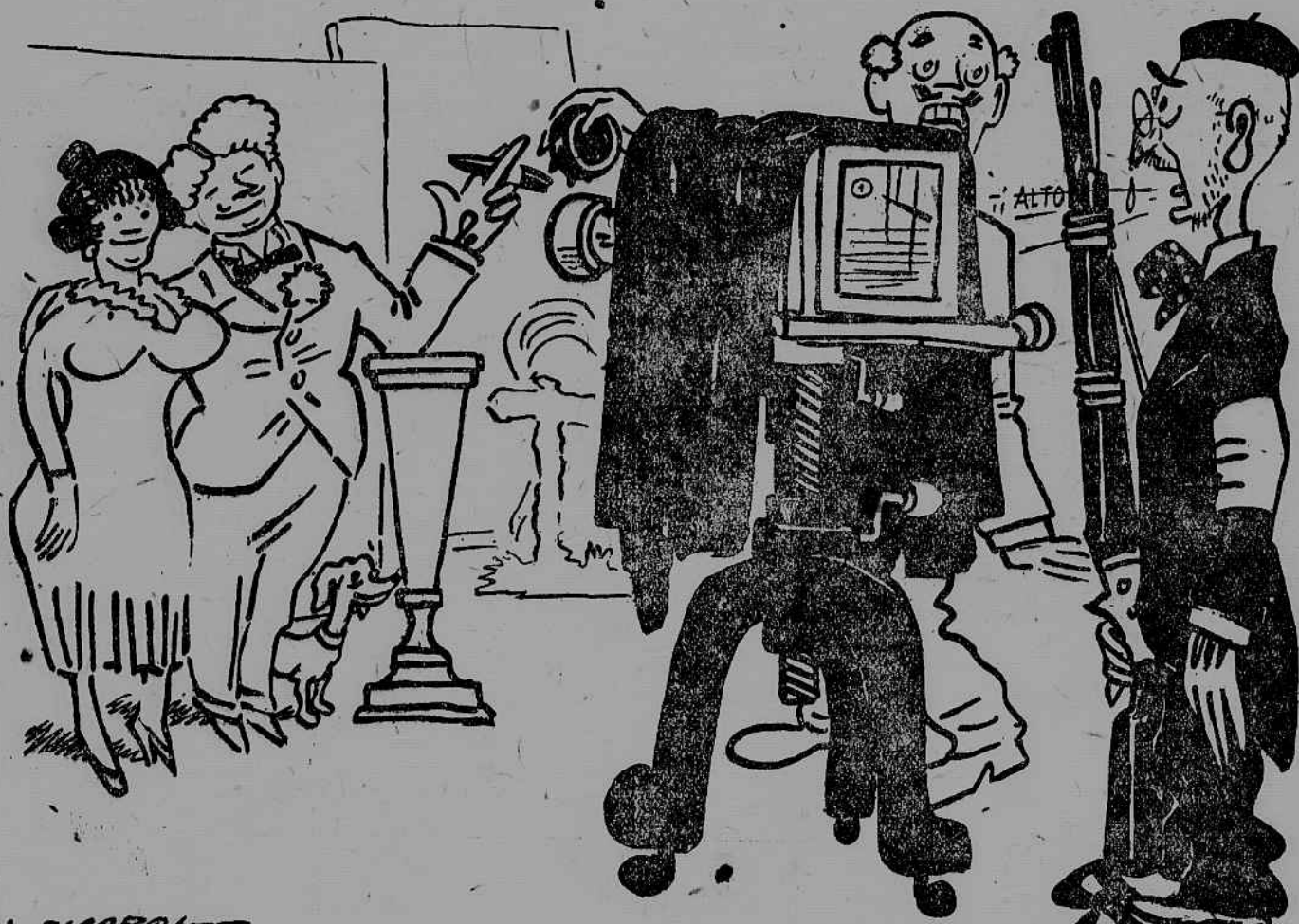
Ukrainian national consciousness did not develop until the middle of the nineteenth century. Its prophets were the poet Shevchenko and the historian Drahomanov. The aims of the nationalists were not political at all, to begin with, but merely cultural. There was no talk of secession from Russia even as late as April, 1917, when, following the March revolution at Petrograd, a Ukrainian national congress was held at Kiev. But the Ukrainian intellectuals, imbued with Western spirit and ideals, strove to develop a national language and literature. It is now generally acknowledged that Ukrainian forms a separate branch of the Slavonic family of languages; it differs from Great Russian more than Polish differs from Czech.

The chief difference, however, that which constitutes the Ukrainians as a nationality distinct from Russia, is in the character and tradition of the people. The Ukrainians are essentially southerners, the Great Russians northerners. In habits, temperament, ways of thinking the Ukrainians are closer to the Serbs than to the Great Russians. Their Slavic strain is purer than that of the Muscovite with his strong Mongol-Finnish admixture. The Ukrainians, generally speaking, are a tall, dark people; the Russians fair and of a lower stature. In contrast to the mystical, religious, pacifistic, patient, submissive, rather indolent Great Russian the Ukrainian is a hard-headed, industrious realist and a stubborn fighter. His history explains the difference: from the earliest times the Muscovite has never known freedom, whereas the Ukrainian is proud of his tradition inherited from the free soldier republic of the Zaporoghi Cossacks.

Individualists

Above all, the Great Russian is socialistic-communistic by tradition

On Taking Your Fiancee to the Photographer's in Barcelona



This cartoon from "La Campana de Gracia" shows, in a humorous way, the fear of revolutionary demonstrations in Spain. The Barcelona Civil Guard bursts upon the scene, exclaiming: "Halt! Don't you know that 'Groups' aren't permitted to assemble anywhere?"

and temperament; the Ukrainian is an extreme individualist. On the abolition of serfdom by the Czar Alexander II, the land ceded by the noble proprietors—ceded on heavy terms, needless to say—was, in Great Russia, taken over, mostly, by the communes; in the Ukraine by individual peasants. Communal tenure of land, that specifically Russian institution, has never had a root in the Ukraine. In his excellent book on "The New Eastern Europe" Ralph Butler calls attention to the radically different appreciation of business success in the Great Russian and Ukrainian villages. Accordingly, in Great Russia the farmer who extends his holdings and "piles up" is looked upon askance, is almost despised as a heartless egoist, a "pusher"; he is known by the characteristic nickname of "kulak," meaning "fat." In the Ukraine the same peasant is admired and envied as a superior person, just as he would be in America or Western Europe.

Czarism at Work

Up to quite recent years the great mass of the Ukrainian people was little affected by the nationalist movement of the intellectuals. The latter, however, were substantially assisted in their uphill task by the stupidly oppressive policy of the czaristic government, which did its worst to eliminate the Ukrainian language from the schools and all public uses. The plan worked just as the similar policy of the Prussians

did among the Poles of Posen and in Alsace—it called forth a nationalistic reaction. The lion's share in Ukrainian national rebirth belongs to the Ukrainians of Galicia, the so-called Ruthenes, who, although cruelly oppressed by the Polish aristocracy, the ally of the Hapsburg government, were still allowed to develop their language in literature and to spread the national idea across the border. It should be remarked here that the hostility of the czaristic government to Ukrainian nationality was shared even by the Russian liberal parties, such as the Kadets, and even by the Kerenskists.

The Ukrainian national movement came to a head after the overthrow of czarism. In April, 1917, the Ukrainian National Congress applied to the Russian Constituent Assembly for a degree of autonomy. The request was shelved; whereupon the Ukrainian Rada, or Diet, proclaimed independence. However, there was still no intention of seceding from Russia altogether; the plan was to form an independent Ukrainian state as member of a Russian federal republic.

Secession became the war cry first after the Bolshevik upheaval of November, 1917. The Ukrainian government was composed almost exclusively of the radical bourgeois element and backed by the peasantry on the assumption that a free country meant also free land. The Nationalists, however, were lagging behind with the all-important land

reform until the Bolshevik coup at Petrograd and Moscow forced their hands. Presently the "universal," or decree, was issued at Kiev, ordering the taking over of all landed property under a communal ownership. Land committees were appointed and the execution of the reform began.

Here, however, the Nationalists, who in their economic policies were of the Kerenski shade of doctrine, made a mistake which soon proved fatal. The Ukrainian peasantry did not desire communization of the land; it desired the land. Small freehold ownership was the Ukrainian ideal. The reform, therefore, while embittering the great proprietors against the Nationalist régime, did not satisfy the peasants.

In the mean time, the eyes of the German High Command became fixed on the Ukraine. The full granaries of South Russia were held up to the slowly starving German people as a glorious promise. Getting a foothold in Kiev and Odessa was now one of the principal objectives of German strategy; and with the separate peace of January, 1918, the objective seemed to be attained.

The Ukrainian government signed the treaty for three reasons: First, because it shared the belief that Germany would win the war; second, because the Rada was much more afraid of the Bolsheviks than of the Germans; third, because the Ukraine had not a single ammunition factory, all those of the old régime being situated in Great Russia and now in Bolshevik control.

It would be unfair to charge the Rada with pro-Germanism. It signed the separate peace because it saw no other way out.

Probably fear of the Bolsheviks was strongest of the three motives. This fear was not altogether unjustified. No sooner was the separate peace signed than the Bolshevik army invaded the Ukraine, captured Kiev and chased the Rada to the winds. This diversion was welcome to the Germans. They simply could not resist the impulse to save the Rada. A strong German and Austro-Hungarian army was dispatched to the Ukraine; Kiev was taken, the Bolsheviks were routed and the Rada was reinstated, this time under German protectorate.

Those Full Granaries

Now, the "full granaries" of the Ukraine played an important rôle in the calculations of the German General Staff, and a rôle even more important in the home propaganda of the German government. Nevertheless, they were only part of the story. The German generals had plans reaching far beyond immediate food relief. First, there was the "buffer state" idea, the scheme of weakening Russia by detaching a fringe of national states on the west and southwest. Moreover, the Ukrainians by far the richest section of the former Russian Empire. To quote Mr. Butler, "the Ukrainian provinces contain the best part of the black earth zone, the granary of Eastern Europe; most of the coal and iron, nearly all of the oil, all of the salt, 80 per cent of the beet, 70 per cent of the tobacco, one-third of the livestock of all Russia." By no means a contemptible booty. But, above all, the Mesopotamian and Syrian successes of the British had already shattered the dream of Berlin-Bagdad; suddenly the Germans

calls the Irish report "a mass of malevolent misrepresentation and downright falsehood to which we cannot remember any parallel." Other papers look upon the Senate's action as party politics, but see in it imminent danger of a serious quarrel between America and England. "The Saturday Review" says: "The fact that the profession of sympathy with the Sinn Féiners is purely political increases the danger, for we know what politicians will say and do to win an election."

Then came November 11, 1918. Germany collapsed, and presently Skoropadsky saw himself besieged in Kiev by a peasant army of several hundred thousand, headed by General Petlura, the Nationalist leader. Skoropadsky had a bodyguard of Russians, mostly former officers, and a few thousand German troops, marooned in the Ukrainian capital. The latter declared neutrality. Skoropadsky applied for help to General Denikine, head of the anti-Bolshevik Cossack government of Yekaterinodar. Denikine answered with an ultimatum enjoining Skoropadsky to declare for all-Russian unity and to appoint a Russian ministry. Skoropadsky made a faint attempt to comply. Within a few days the army of Petlura entered Kiev, routed Skoropadsky and restored the Nationalist government, now called Directory.

Free for All

And now followed what will probably go down into future records as the greatest free-for-all

Wisdom and Wit in Parliament

From The London Outlook

"IF MEN promise something which is dishonorable at an election, the shameful thing is in keeping the promise and not in breaking it."—Lord Buckmaster.

"The landowner is regarded as an animal with a double dose of original sin from which his critics, by Almighty Providence, have been mercifully spared."—Major E. Wood, M. P.

"It is perhaps conceivable that there are wicked vendors who, when they sell land, desire to get a price which is high. It is just possible, too, that there are virtuous purchasers who, when they buy land, desire to pay a price which is low."—The Attorney General.

"No jazz dance has such complicated steps as those which have to be pursued by a local authority which wants to buy land."—Major Barnes, M. P.

"All I know about Russia is that it is a place I do not want to go to."—Mr. M. Jones, M. P.

"The only manufacture in Russia at present is the manufacture of paper money."—Colonel Guinness, M. P.

"Personally I have never been an advocate of entering into partnership with the devil."—General Sir J. Davidson, M. P.

"It has struck me, as a man of moderate means, that the House of Commons is rather a spendthrift."—Captain C. Coote, M. P.

"The Hon. Member is quite in order in giving an illustration, but his illustration has been going on for about half an hour."—The Deputy Speaker.

"There is more room on the Front Opposition Bench than on any other."—The Speaker.

saw the alternative Berlin-Odessa-Batoum-Baku-Teheran could be had almost for the asking, with the immense oil fields of Transcaucasia thrown in for good measure.

The plan was grandiose, but trouble arose right at the start. German detachments were sent to fetch the wheat from the "full granaries" of the Ukraine. Imagine their surprise when they found the "full granaries" empty. There was no wheat in the Ukraine! The glorious German dream of white Ukrainian bread was about to end in a nightmare.

The explanation was simple enough. The Ukrainian peasants concealed their stores from the Germans, and in many cases the villagers resisted search with machine guns and hand grenades and everything. Patriotism, the hatred of the invader, had something to do with this unexpected attitude, so had the Russian paper money with which the Germans wanted to pay for the wheat. But the Ukrainian peasant had enough Russian paper money to paper his rooms with rubles, if wall-papers were the fashion in Ukrainian villages. What he needed and could not get for money was clothing, shoes, agricultural implements, medicines. These the Germans did not bring along. As a result, the Ukraine as an expedient in eluding the British blockade of Germany proved a total failure.

In the mean time the great landed proprietors, who had suffered considerable losses because of the land reform, mobilized their German junker connections. Dissatisfaction with the Rada was growing among the Ukrainian peasantry. In May, 1918, the situation came to a dramatic head. One day German troops entered the meeting of the Rada, arrested the President, Hrushevsky, and other leaders and dissolved the assembly. The next day the Russian ex-general, Skoropadsky, himself one of the big proprietors, was acclaimed Hetman by a mob of armed peasants, who he, under German protection, had marched to the capital.

The story of the Skoropadsky régime can be told briefly. In the economic field it meant cancellation of the land reform and restoration of landlordism. In the political field it meant rapid retrogression to pre-revolutionary standards and methods. In the national field it meant the end of separatism and preparation for reunion with Great Russia. In a word, Skoropadsky was a monarchist, a feudal reactionary and a pan-Russian. He soon became the most hated figure in the country. But the German bayonets were still there.

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fight of modern European history. The Bolsheviks attacked in the north. Petlura, the Nationalist general, cherished some sort of a hope that the Allies, who were endeavoring to encircle the Bolsheviks, would come to his aid. Sure enough; an Allied contingent under General Berthelot, composed mainly of French and Greek troops, landed at Odessa, and the Rumanians advanced from Bessarabia. It was then that the painful surprise was sprung. Immediately after their landing the French organized "all-Russian" volunteers and attacked the Ukrainian forces of Petlura and the Directory.

For brevity's sake a list is given here of the various campaigns that were being fought in the Ukraine before the end of 1918:

1. The French-Rumanian-Greek-Russian army vs. the Bolsheviks in Southern Ukraine.
2. The French-Rumanian-Greek-Russian army vs. Petlura in Central Ukraine.
3. Petlura vs. the Bolsheviks in Northern Ukraine.
4. Denikine vs. Petlura in Eastern Ukraine.
5. Denikine vs. the Bolsheviks in Eastern Ukraine.
6. The Rumanians vs. the Ukrainians in Bessarabia and Bukovina.
7. The Rumanians vs. the Bolsheviks in Bessarabia.
8. The Ukrainians vs. the Bolsheviks in Bessarabia.
9. The Poles vs. the Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia.
10. Everybody in general against the gangs of brigands and marauders, many of them jobless German soldiers of the disintegrated army of occupation.

Precisely how the situation stands at the present moment it is wellnigh impossible to tell. The following facts may be stated with reasonable assurance:

1. That the French and their auxiliaries, after penetrating to the north to a considerable distance, were withdrawn, and that later on Odessa and Sebastopol, the main Allied bases, were evacuated.
2. That the capital, Kiev, has changed masters three times, being taken from Petlura by Bolsheviks, then recaptured by Petlura, finally, after being evacuated by the latter, seized by Zeleny, the quasi-Bolshevik independent leader, who holds the city now.
3. That Khar'kov, in the Eastern Ukraine, and Odessa are at present Bolshevik strongholds.
4. That in Eastern Galicia the situation is controlled by the Polish army of General Haller, composed to a large extent of Polish-American volunteers.
5. That in Volhynia, a western province of the Ukraine, Petlura has recently made progress, capturing the towns of Berdichev and Prokurov. He is, however, menaced by the Poles in the west and south and by the Bolsheviks in the east.
6. That the Cossacks of General Denikine have suffered a severe setback at the hands of the Bolsheviks, but are now recovering for a new offensive.
7. That the greatest danger of all is the typhus epidemic, which is taking its toll by the ten thousand, and whose spread, in the absence of medical supplies, cannot be stopped.

This, in brief outline, is the situation in the Ukraine to-day. After the foregoing it is perhaps no exaggeration to say that, compared to the Ukrainian problem, questions like that of the Saar-Valley or Danzig appear as mere diplomatic bagatelles. And the problem of the Ukraine is merely a part of the general Russian settlement.

Utopias and Communistic Experiments That Failed to Survive the Test of Time

(From The Detroit Sunday News)

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| Plato's Republic | Hobbes' Leviathan |
| Xenophon | Machiavelli's Prince |
| Plotinus | Lytton's The Coming Race |
| The Incas | Inspirationists of Amana |
| More's Utopia | Rappists of Harmony |
| Bacon's New Atlantis | Separatists of Zoar |
| Andrew's Universal Christian Republic | Shakers |
| Campanella's City of Sun | Onida Community |
| The Jesuits in Paraguay | Cabet and Icarians |
| Harrington's Oceana | Brook Farm |
| Morely's Basilid | Owen's New Harmony |
| | Jerome's Utopia |

THE reply of the Allied and associated governments to Germany's counter proposals to the peace treaty and a copy of the revised treaty were given to the German peace delegates at Versailles. The Germans were given until Monday to sign the treaty, and this time limit included the three-day period for terminating the armistice. Marshal Foch has an army of 600,000 men ready to begin an invasion of Germany from the Rhine bridgeheads in the event of a refusal to sign the treaty.

The German delegates reported the general terms of the revised treaty by telephone from Versailles to Weimar. After hearing the report the German Cabinet was said to be divided seven to seven on the refusal to sign the treaty. Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau's telephonic report to Weimar said: "The tone of the document is extraordinarily harsh and insulting. Germany bears all blame and must in consequence be punished. It can be glad if it comes out halfway well." When the German delegation left

Versailles for Weimar a crowd made a demonstration against them and Dr. Theodor Melchior, one of the five principal delegates, and Frau Dorblush were struck on the head by stones. Premier Clemenceau wrote a letter to Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau apologizing for the demonstration, while the responsible police official was removed from office.

The summary of the revised treaty shows that the concessions made are few and of relatively minor importance. The most important change in the territorial section of the treaty is the admission of Upper Silesia to the list of regions entitled to a plebiscite. Germany is to receive notice of the total indemnity to be demanded of her earlier than 1921. The German army may number 200,000 for a limited time. The Allies do not waive their right to try the Kaiser. A civilian commission is established to govern the Rhineland as a substitute for German political control. Admission of Germany to the league of nations will depend on the acts of the German government, especially toward the treaty. No modification is granted

as to Danzig, East Prussia or Memel. The Allies will afford Germany facilities for food supplies, raw materials and overseas transport. Military occupation by the Allies will continue as a guarantee for the execution of the treaty. England is as much interested in the doings at Washington as in the peace conference at Paris. Althm has been aroused in England by the Senate's antagonism to the league of nations. The Tribune's London correspondent says the Knox resolution has served to frighten many Englishmen into supporting the league. "The Daily Express" says: "The action of the Foreign Relations Committee threatens the league with disaster, and in destroying the league it menaces also the entire peace fabric." The paper blames President Wilson for the present situation, and adds: "The worst of it is that the whole of Europe may have to suffer for the vanity of one man."

England deeply resents the resolution of sympathy for Ireland adopted by the Senate. Many of the extreme papers describe the Senate's action as "impudent and insulting," while "The Daily Telegraph"

calls the Irish report "a mass of malevolent misrepresentation and downright falsehood to which we cannot remember any parallel." Other papers look upon the Senate's action as party politics, but see in it imminent danger of a serious quarrel between America and England. "The Saturday Review" says: "The fact that the profession of sympathy with the Sinn Féiners is purely political increases the danger, for we know what politicians will say and do to win an election."

Captain John Alcock and Lieutenant A. W. Brown, the British aviators who made the non-stop cross-Atlantic flight, were received in London with a huge parade when they arrived there from Ireland after the completion of their flight. The gathering was as large and the cheering as loud as at the welcome to Hawker.

The two aviators flew from Newfoundland to Clifden, Ireland, approximately 1,960 miles, in sixteen hours and twelve minutes. A large part of the trip was made through thick fog and mists, and the landing in Ireland was in a bog that partly wrecked the machine.

The Week Abroad